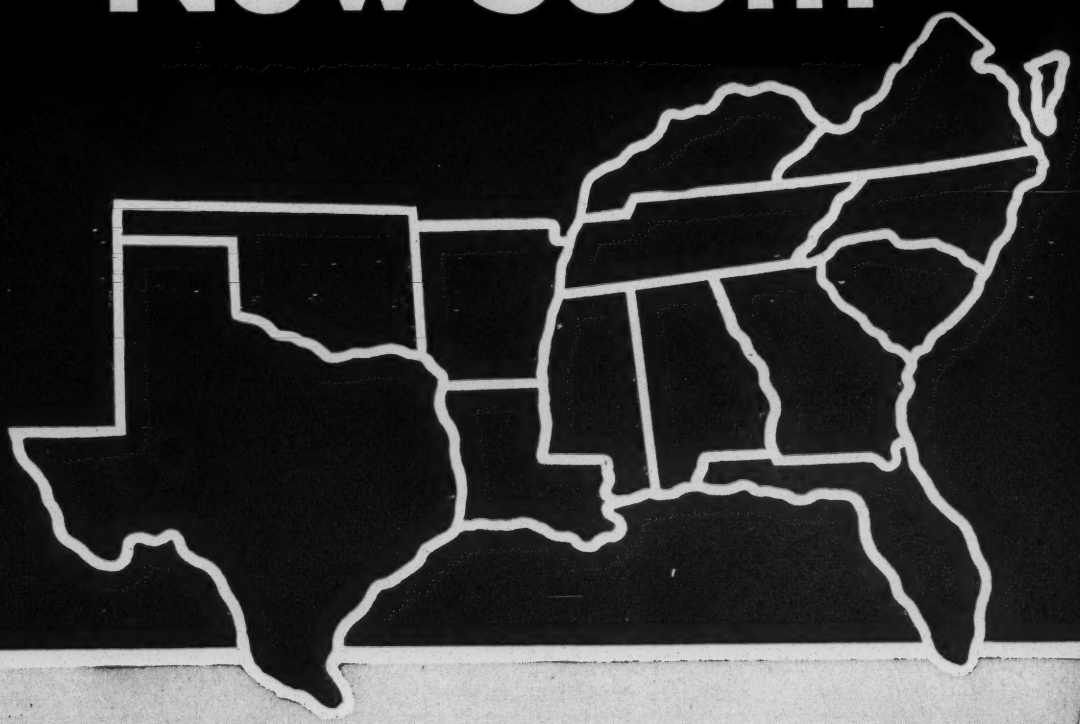
New South



The Southern Minister
Colbert S. Cartwright

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Private School Plan
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FEBRUARY 1958

New South

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New South Notes

Colbert S. Cartwright, pastor, Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock, Arkansas, has written an article for *New South* in which he sets forth some of the things responsible Southern ministers can do to better race relations. The Reverend Mr. Cartwright draws on personal knowledge of events in Little Rock and from experiences of fellow ministers in outlining some of the steps religious leaders may take in the crisis situation in the South today.

With permission of the editor of the AAUP Bulletin, a publication of the American Association of University Professors, *New South* reprints "The Role of the Segregationist," by Professor Joseph Margolis of the University of South Carolina. The article is an intensive analysis of the Southern segregationist's role and prophesies future events.

Robert D. Fowler, editor of the *Cobb County Times*, Marietta, Georgia, recently outlined the alternatives in the school desegregation. The editor discusses the private school plans and the likely outcome of such devices.

In keeping with Mr. Fowler's article, *New South* reprints comments from religious leaders concerning their thoughts on using church property as schools if the public schools are closed. Comments are enlightening.

The remaining two items in *New South* concern recent dynamitings of Negro institutions in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and activity of the Ku Klux Klan in Virginia.

The Southern Minister And the Race Question

By Colbert S. Cartwright

Pastor
Little Rock
Pulaski Heights
Christian Church

"New occasions teach new duties" is a saying filled with truth for the Southern minister who seeks to act responsibly in today's rapidly shifting human relations scene. The Southern region is seething with new occasions of racial disharmony. They cry for new patterns of action.

But what are these duties? What can a Southern white minister do to help his beloved South make a smoother transition to a new pattern of human relations? These are questions with which many of us, as ministers, are daily grappling in the inner recesses of our consciences. No easy answers are found. Nevertheless through struggle and travail, much heartache, and frequent bungling, answers are beginning to be hammered out.

Not every answer is relevant to every situation, but there is a pooling of experiences which can be of benefit to every minister. It is well to consider some of the answers that some Southern ministers are giving to the challenge of racial tension today.

Every minister is faced with the problem of educating his congregation to a deeper understanding of the meaning of brotherhood. How should he go about it?

The pulpit is one means of education. A minister of a church in Texas has said he has found that "the most effective sermons for building interracial good will are those in which 'racial' material is used illustratively and incidentally, rather than as a kind of direct assault on the prejudice." An Arkansas minister confirms this observation by noting that "some of my people stay away from church if they know I am going to discuss the race issue."

Ministers

(Continued)

However, when specific issues arise in one's community it is sometimes imperative for the minister to bring the voice of God's judgment to bear upon it. In the face of the Little Rock public school crisis a number of that city's ministers felt impelled to devote entire sermons to the subject.

It may be that the erosion of prejudices is accomplished from the pulpit most effectively by incidental sermonic references, whereas guidance on specific issues can be handled most effectively by a fuller treatment.

In reality the educating of a congregation to a more brotherly attitude will not be accomplished primarily from the pulpit, but through other means. Southern ministers are finding a variety of educational processes helpful.

Wrote Letters

An Atlanta minister found an opportunity for educating his congregation when it seemed likely he would be called upon to join with other ministers in making a pronouncement on the school desegregation issue. He wrote twenty-one influential men of his church, telling them that he and the other ministers of the city might be called upon soon to make a statement on the racial problem. He asked each one to write him what he thought a Christian minister ought to say. The minister received eighteen replies—all of them quite lengthy. It should be noted that the men had not been asked to give their own personal views, but to think in terms of what a Christian minister should say. The minister reports that when he signed the Atlanta statement of eighty ministers, he had the men of his church solidly behind him.

Committees

During February an Arkansas minister, working through one of the regular committees of his church, succeeded in having the church sponsor a series of three Sunday afternoon discussions on human relations to which members of both races would be invited. Other denominations and faiths were included. Outside resource persons were secured for leadership. The meetings were enthusiastically attended. Out of the sessions grew an interracial committee to work on the community's human relations problems.

Another minister invited a team composed of a Negro and a white minister from another city to come to his church to discuss frankly with any members who were interested in the racial problem from the point of view of the Christian faith. The attendance was larger than he had expected. His members were particularly eager to hear at first hand a well-educated Negro minister discuss the problems facing his race. Before the evening was over the members of the church had begun to talk about their own racial problems in the atmosphere of Christian fellowship.

When the Little Rock crisis was at its height a Lutheran pastor of that city found many of his members confused by the barrage of arguments purporting to show that the Bible teaches segregation to be the revealed will of God. In very simple, but devastating fashion, the pastor wrote an article titled "What Saith the Scripture?" In the first part he

discussed "Scripture Passages Claimed to Endorse Segregation," showing that they taught nothing of the kind. In the second part he discussed "Scripture Passages Which Endorse Integration," pointing out that there are many teachings inculcating love and justice to all regardless of their race or condition. In the last section the pastor drew his conclusions, relating them in a positive fashion to the Little Rock school situation. He mimeographed his three-page study and mailed it out to every member of his church. You can bet it was more carefully heeded than any sermon he had ever preached! His members turned to their Bibles and found that, yes, the Bible said just what their pastor had indicated. Many a biblical bogey of segregation was disspelled once and for all.

Gradual Processes

A Little Rock Presbyterian minister found that his gradual process of education over a period of years paid substantial dividends in the time of crisis. The session of his congregation took the initiative in publishing signed advertisements in the newspapers decrying violence and calling for law and order. His young people who had discussed race relations from time to time in their meetings found it natural to befriend Negro students when they entered the previously all-white high school for the first time.

An additional experience of this Presbyterian minister points to another important educational process. Whenever he heard of members of his congregation becoming disturbed over his racial stand, he immediately went to see them. "I talked it out with them on the basis of the gospel," he reports, "and I haven't lost a member yet."

Beyond responsibilities to his own congregation a minister has duties to his community. He must do what he can to help his town or city to face successfully the rapidly changing racial patterns which are taking place.

Communication

One of the most basic needs in bettering human relations is for meaningful communication to take place between the races. A community's racial problems can only find solution when all concerned can sit down together and speak freely.

Ministers can take leadership in this process. More and more ministerial associations are becoming bi-racial in character. As Negro and white ministers work together on committees, there develops an understanding which has repercussions far beyond the immediate task at hand. But this is only a first step.

The ministers in one Southern Arkansas town were disturbed by the problem of juvenile delinquency. Upon investigation they found that delinquency is no respecter of races. Children and youth of both races were on the road to serious trouble. The ministers decided to form what they called a Community Christian Council, interracial in character, composed of one minister and two laymen from each church, to work on community problems. They have begun to meet and are in the process of improving recreational facilities for both races. As they unite in a common task, lines of communication between the races are being established which can go far in furthering better human

Ministers

(Continued)

relations in many areas of the community's life.

Some ministers also are finding it helpful to be a part of some type of "fellowship of the concerned" in their community which brings together persons of both races for the specific purpose of improving human relations. In some places the "fellowship" is deliberately kept informal without even a name. In other places it takes on a more formal character. In any case such a group quietly goes about the task of gathering information and studying local problems. It seldom makes a direct pronouncement or calls for specific public action in the name of a group. Rather, it becomes informed and then through individual members plants seeds of ideas in the minds of persons of leadership in the community where they may germinate and bear fruit. For example a "fellowship" may learn of the Institute on Police and Community Relations which is held at Michigan State College, and quietly work through individual members to see that several of their law enforcement officers are sent to the institute.

Ministers are learning that their concerns for racial justice are best served through working in groups. The unattached minister of concern usually is neither in a position to be kept abreast of important facts nor to do much by himself. Beyond the local level there is the need to be united in a state-wide human relations group. One lesson of Little Rock is that the destinies of any one city are inevitably related to the political realities of the entire state.

Keep Informed

Above all, ministers of the South are finding it imperative that they keep informed as to what the true facts are in regard to human relations. Many vicious lies are being spread, and even the most broad-hearted of ministers is sometimes unconsciously duped. Without constant reading in the field, we shall find ourselves reflecting these falsehoods. Being well-informed, ministers will be in a position to scotch these falsehoods in daily conversation.

Not long ago I heard a young minister of the South say categorically that "the race issue is beyond discussion now." He insisted that for him to do anything "would be to blow things sky high."

Every minister of the South has dark moments of the soul when he feels just that way. But at such times it is well to recall that this is a defeatism of which the Christian gospel knows nothing. Granted that the path ahead is rugged for any socially sensitive Southern minister, there are things which can be done. There are plenty of ministers already showing the way.

The gain in race relations which are emphasized in the Tuskegee (annual race relations) report are in terms of progress toward peaceful settlement of differences, notably in actions taken by the federal government. For, it is pointed out, all branches of the government "made clear that American citizens must receive treatment which is racially non-discriminatory in education, transportation, recreation, voting and employment."
—*Presbyterian Outlook editorial.*

The Role of the Segregationist*

By Joseph Margolis

University of South Carolina

It occurs to me that recent episodes in the current integration drama point to a little-emphasized feature of Southern "resistance" which is of the utmost importance. The feature I have in mind both illuminates the ideology of the struggle and raises problems of tact for the strategy of Federal action. I refer to the special "role-playing" habit of the South. We are accustomed to notice good-humoredly that Texans and Brooklynites deliberately take relatively sterotyped public roles on occasion. The fact that amusement is involved for both the actor and the spectator indicates that, whatever marginal hostility may be involved here, the assumption of these roles is not particularly painful. The pro-segregationists of the South, on the other hand, have a painful role to play, which they more or less voluntarily assume, every commitment in which sufferers from the regularly nourished memories of the long and equally painful history of that role. The defeat of the South in the Civil War fixed its classic pattern, for it specified it as a role involving open and organized antagonism construed as the devoted defense of principle, defeat construed as invasion, moral criticism construed as an imposition of penalties, and finally continuing loyalty to a lost cause construed as the solidarity of a cultured and homogeneous people in occupation. It has all the earmarks, therefore, of a military role, a crusading role, a knightly role, a hero's role, a martyr's role. It differs from all of these in one important particular of course: it is not actual lives that are at stake, but a way of life. One

*Reprinted from AAUP Bulletin

Segregationist

(Continued)

may also notice that the customs and doctrines proposed by integrationists are not viewed as degrading by the integrationists themselves; and the South, facing the issue as it must with mixed views, with pride and with shame, treats these more as hateful than degrading, preferring to point to their interference with the procedures of Southern life than to substantive wrongs the races must inevitably expect to suffer.

Not Wholehearted

To see this is to see what I think has usually escaped our attention, namely, that the "resistance" of the South is not wholehearted resistance. I know this sounds like a paradox, but I think it can be explained. I should say it is not wholehearted because it is not really hopeful; it is not so much actual resistance as the enactment of a role of resistance. To be sure, there are those who may be genuinely resisting, and violently, even to the extent of castrating an innocent Negro. But even here, the gesture, horrid as it is, strikes one as theatrical, a gesture of defiance rather than defiance itself; and the genteel members of Southern communities are genuinely embarrassed and ashamed of such performances. There was a time when the Ku Klux Klan was dreaded; it was then a hopeful and dangerously resolute organization. It is still dangerous, of course, but in recent years it has gone in more for symbols than for acts, or (stated in another way) its acts are not part of a genuine tactic but of a ritual merely. And as a matter of fact, I have myself inquisitively watched the faces of random pedestrians as clusters of Klansmen walked down Main Street, Columbia, South Carolina, chatting casually yet self-consciously in the afternoon sun; and I think the unvoiced communication that ran from white to Negro and from Negro to white was mild surprise and faint ridicule. Perhaps it is that the Klan cannot conceive a program of defiance against the North (there is no hope for that), and that the South requires a significant pose of defiance against the North; perhaps it is that the Klan is in a sense intramural, and the "resistance" of the South is intermural.

It is easy enough to gather evidence for the thesis. What one has to look for are political acts that are committed with the foreknowledge of their futility. I should instance Senator Thurmond's last-ditch filibuster, which rallied those who have assumed the role described but which angered Southern colleagues, who understand that the role is, after all, a role which must not be allowed to complicate practical politics (not at all viewed as a futility). What one must look for is the harassment of the more powerful Federal government (identified for the purposes in question with the North, the inevitably victorious North), as practiced, for example, by Governor Faubus during the initial phase of the Little Rock crisis. What one must look for is the sense of triumph that supervenes, not upon a successful maneuver (every such success is viewed as a temporary gain, soon to be lost), but upon the mere exposure of unsolved racial problems in the North, prejudice and corruption, as in the re-

porting of race riots, housing restrictions, New York labor camps, and the rest. What one must look for is the air and talk of being victimized from within and without, as in Arkansas with the "carpetbagger" Judge Davies and in Carolina with the "turncoat" Judge Waring.

Too much time has passed since Reconstruction days to justify the present status of the Negro. The connivance of events, legitimate hatred for the revenge of the Reconstruction, the hurt and shock of defeat, the puzzlement of a changing era, the continuing economic disadvantage of the region, opportunism and inertia—all of these things have allowed time to pass. The South has hitherto managed to postpone its reckoning, and the Supreme Court has forced it to face the Issue suddenly and with authority. The situation was tailor-made for a considerable relapse on the part of the South back to its classic role. It is extremely difficult for integration to make its way in the South without appearing to be imposed from above, without appearing to rehearse the familiar defeat of the entire people.

Embarrassment

The South is suffering from a moral embarrassment that it cannot easily overcome. It cannot account satisfactorily for the Negro's continuing plight during the long interval from Reconstruction to our own day. Nor can it simply make an about-face now and clasp the Negro to its bosom (though no one asks for this, of course). Even more important than this, whatever experience the South has had in ameliorating the relations between the races it has tied to its role as vanquished; in effect, to overcome now the moral negligence of the past is to appear to capitulate once again to the mere brute force of the North or to condemn itself openly. That the initiative of the Federal government should have obliged the South to answer the matter could not but have increased the resentment that is the inversion of its own moral pain. And so it is extremely difficult to create a role of cooperation with the law of the land that can appear at the same time as spontaneous and affirmative and self-determined.

Enforcement

The odd thing is that the political practice of the South must increasingly exasperate the executive power of the Federal government; it must lead to an enforcement of the integration decisions. It is almost as if the South means to experiment with, even to pique, the patience of the government, certain always that it is nearing its limit and willing, in the meantime, to applaud the performance of every virtuoso of its accustomed role. The practice itself creates an atmosphere of anticipated defeat and hastens the very events that must appear as final defeat and surrender. I must repeat that it is an institution that is about to die, and not an actual community of men.

No one will deny that resistance to integration is rather good politics in the South; this does not mean that it is also an intelligent policy for the economic and cultural well-being of the South. The good politics feeds the role-playing tendencies it has found to support it, and the susceptibility of the South to the role determines what is good politics. The political view is inescapably short-run; the assumption of

Segregationist

(Continued)

the role, however cynical some of its sources, undeniably earnest. The result is that the imminent defeat will be sincerely felt as a defeat. Yet even this statement is recognizably faulty. For if we appeal to the imagery of the Civil War days, we see that the present struggle mingles the War with the Reconstruction; it is as if penalties were introduced piecemeal with every successful battle—and irreversibly. The rhythm of events and the easy and automatic availability of its treasured role have conspired to fascinate the South, drawing it on to rehearse its fixed lines in novel ways. We can speak only of fascination here because not only is there no hope, but also the end of the drama is clear enough to Southern observers. If one still asks why, little else can be said except that it is in defeat alone that the South is persuaded it has an identity it can cherish.

No Alternative

If these things are so, there is no alternative to Federal enforcement, because the government itself is being drawn into the role of historical antagonist. It is to its credit that it has sought to avoid such a posture. But the drama is gathering momentum, and we already hear Union and Reconstruction talk from responsible partisans of integration — elements in the South itself, significantly enough, have labelled the unfinished episode, Reconstruction II. The periphery of the South has crumbled, from the point of view of the adamant Deep South; and so on, the latter cannot be expected to integrate on its own initiative—it would procrastinate endlessly, it cannot announce its own deep moral blame. Integration is viewed as penetrating Southward. In terms of the images that are capturing both sides, it must be turned back or be victorious; and therefore, in terms of the actualities, it must be enforced.

Stalemate Unlikely

The likelihood of a stalemate, so characteristic of political struggles and, in particular, of the integration controversies of the past, declines with every new adventure. If the issue had remained closeted in the Congress, stalemate would have been possible. But increasingly now, the rest of the society is aware of itself taking sides and of playing out the drama to its end. The integrationists see victory ahead; the Federal government sees the side-issue of integration as a revived challenge to its authority over the states; and the South sees that it has left to itself only the exhibition of loyalty in defeat. We may expect that exhibition to take more violent, more absurd, more bizarre forms as enforcement penetrates closer to the heartland of the South. There is then a price of sullenness, malice, outrage, non-cooperation that threatens. There seems to be no genuine alternative to enforcement; there may be none for these consequences either. But here, surely, is the problem to ponder. The vision of an integrationist victory may be obscure, by the very excitement it generates, the genuine complications of integrated living. On the other hand, since the South's "resistance" to integration is undertaken without hope, defeat alone cannot be counted on to end the South's defiance.

The behavior of the segregationist is more genuinely collective than that of the integrationist; only the Negro is capable of a unity comparable to that of the white South, and his sense of the uncertainties of white folk's politics and of the inexperience of his race has considerably slowed his impulse to organize. But the collective demonstration of the South must become more massive, more regularly formed as spontaneous community responses. Taken singly, the Southern segregationist can find answers for the inexplicable plight of the Negro only is unreasonable mouthings about racial inferority and contradictory testimony of the ingratitude, disease, stupidity, childishness, arrogance, viciousness, irresponsibility, contentedness, well-being, cunning of the Negro. As his intelligence and comprehension is bettered, the segregationist cannot overcome his awareness of the continuing guilt of his policies. The North is in an infinitely happier condition, not because actual racial relations are so much more enlightened, but because it can bustle about its problems with an apparently clear conscience, itself registered moral dismay at new discoveries of the discrepancy between the facts and its principles. The Southern segregationist turns instead to a reliable source of righteous and dignifying anger: charged as a society, he responds as a society. The integrationist's demand for immediate relief is seen as unjustifiable intrusion, and crowds gratefully applaud the inspired defiance of its momentary heroes; unknown individuals speak memorable lines, distinguish themselves by evidences of their indomitable spirit. And out of it all wells the sense of participating in the cause of freedom, which, it must not be forgotten, drowns out the legitimate plea of reform and its antecedent, unanswerable charges of more than moral neglect.

Drowns it out, that is, for the moment.

Stop These Crimes!

From Chattanooga Times

The dynamiting early yesterday morning of the Phylis Wheatley "Branch" of the YWCA, resulting in damage to other buildings in the East Eighth Street area, indicated, together with the recent bombing of Howard School, an attempt to intimidate Negroes.

The brainless criminality of these outrages must be stopped. The police department, squarely on the spot in the wake of the night violence, must have assistance of every citizen who has respect for law. . . .

By far the most serious (of increased criminal) offenses are the race connected ones of yesterday's. The person or persons responsible must be caught and swiftly punished. The smallest clues should be reported. For with the success of such ventures, the criminals grow bolder. We have no doubt, however, that the police department will get results.

Private School Plan Raises Many Doubts*

By Robert D. Fowler

Editor,

Cobb County Times

State Sen. Fred Bentley, of Cobb, has expressed doubt over the constitutionality of Georgia's private school plan. In brief, he simply says that he doesn't think it will hold water. Sen. Bentley isn't the only legally trained mind holding this belief.

The question is of supreme importance to the Deep South at this time, particularly to Georgia. President Eisenhower has at last taken his stand on desegregation. In essence, he was warned the South that final orders of the federal courts must be obeyed. If not, federal intervention will be the alternative.

Georgians have perhaps snuggled up in a cloak of false security since the approval of state legislation providing for closing public schools in case of integration. Under the questionable act, any public school ordered to integrate would become ineligible for state funds. The governor could then close the school and lease it to private persons or corporations. Upon the exercise of this authority each child of school age would become entitled to a grant from state and local funds to pay the cost of education in a private school.

But what about the legality of this law? Will it stand the test of constitutionality before the Supreme Court?

Expert legal authorities say no. In a book published this month by Rutgers Press—forebodingly entitled "Desegration and the Law"—two lawyer authors provide valuable legal gackground on the desegration issue. Tracing previous rulings of courts—stuff that law is really made of—the authors present material which gives valuable clues on what to expect in the future.

Terming the Supreme Court's 1954

*Reprinted from Cobb County Times

decision outlawing segregation in public schools as the most significant decision ever rendered by an American court, the authors observe that what the South is now really doing lies somewhere between such extremes of "avoidance" and "evasion." In this respect, they note that it is perfectly proper—at least as far as the courts are concerned—for an individual or a state to attempt to "avoid" the consequences of desegregation. "Evasion," on the other hand, is against the law.

One court decision after another forewarns that the Georgia law will probably be declared unconstitutional. While Georgia could indisputably claim the "right" to close down its public schools, it would surely run into trouble when it attempted to set up a substitute plan.

What these authors are saying is the same that other legal authorities have contended. That is, if Georgia is to avoid desegregation it must get out of the school business entirely and leave the problem of getting an education up to the individual.

We doubt if citizens of the state will buy such a plan. For the great masses of people, public education is the only sensible and financially acceptable means of receiving an education. This is harsh reality perhaps, but why not call a spade a spade?

No Place For Klan

The recently held Klan meeting and cross burning in Southside Virginia by North Carolina Klansmen and announcement of plans for additional rallies in our Commonwealth are cause for serious concern to religiously motivated persons and decent people everywhere.

The Klan's terrorist tactics and its appeal to the evil passions of hatred and bigotry violate our common Judaic-Christian heritage and democratic traditions. They are contrary to legislation enacted by the Virginia General Assembly in 1952 prescribing fines and jail sentences for the wearing of masks and the burning of crosses on the property of persons without their permission. Irrespective of current social problems, there is agreement among Virginians that the Klan way is not the Virginia way to handle our problems.

We are sure that police officers in each locality can be relied upon to enforce the laws of Virginia, and we call upon religious leaders of the three faiths—Catholics, Protestants and Jews—and Virginians generally to cooperate with law enforcement authorities in their duty of preventing unlawful Klan activity from becoming a significant force in the communities of this state.

Peter L. Ireton
Bishop of Richmond

Francis P. Miller
President,
Virginia Council of Churches

Joseph Goldman
Central Virginia and
Hampton Roads Rabbinical Assns.

Should Churches Be Used If Schools Are Closed?

Reprinted from Presbyterian Outlook

W. M. Elliott, Jr., Moderator, Presbyterian, N. S. General Assembly, Dallas, Texas—I am opposed to the churches allowing their facilities to be used in this way: I am wholeheartedly committed to our public school system, and feel that the churches must not be used by any group to destroy our public schools, or to circumvent the decisions of our courts. This arrangement would also violate, in my judgment, the principle of the separation of church and state. It is up to the state to provide public schools. It is not a function of the churches.

Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.—Churches should not allow their facilities to be used for the operation of private segregated schools. Segregation based on race and color is contrary to the gospel of Christ. The churches should not support the state in this evil circumvention of the Court's decision. If the churches do their job, they will work to keep the public schools from being abolished.

Malcolm P. Calhoun, Director, Christian Relations, Presbyterian Church, U. S., Atlanta, Ga.—It is my conviction that churches should not allow their facilities to be used for the operation of segregated schools. Churches can do two things: (1) Denounce racial discrimination, (2) establish inclusive parochial schools.

Francis P. Miller, President, Virginia Council of Churches, Charlottesville—Certainly not. To do so would make the church connive with the evil policy of the state; and in so far as the policy of the state was in violation of the law of the nation the church through conniving would become "particeps criminis."

Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk, Presbyterian, USA, General Assembly, Philadephia—I know of no actions that could be taken by Christian churches that would be more disastrous in their long-run moral influence than to establish private, segregated schools in the face of the struggle that our nation is making in trying to give a first-class education to the children of all citizens, regardless of race. Any church which allows its facilities so to be used would appear to me to be putting racial prejudice above Christian duty.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"There are those who would even sacrifice the public school system on these altars of bigotry and hatred. We have in Texas now hysteria and fear. 'The heart must be stronger, the mind the bolder, the courage the greater, when our forces dwindle' . . . We have the duty of speaking up."

Texas Sen. Henry Gonzales
Quoted in THE NATION

• • •

"We believe the principle of enforced racial segregation is a contradiction of our Christian faith. We commit ourselves to uphold the enforcement of law and order in the community."

18 *Members,*
Bethesda, Md., Council of Churches
Quoted in INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE

• • •

"For the sake of national unity, today's division, contention and rancor in our midst should give way to agreement. Instead of arguing about states' rights as against Federal rights, we should turn our attention to the responsibilities of the states and the Federal government to citizens who have long been deprived of their individual rights."

George Meany, President,
AFL-CIO
Quoted in INTERRACIAL REVIEW

"The threat to freedom which I sense today is nothing very concrete. It is simply a vague widely held feeling that perhaps we must choose between freedom and survival, and that obviously the choice must be survival. I say no such choice confronts us. I say the choice is among various national policies to insure national survival—and that as respects freedom we have no choice at all but to maintain it more vigilantly and vigorously than ever."

Adlai E. Stevenson
Quoted in CIVIL LIBERTIES

• • •

"One of the mystifying things to me is how a person who claims to be a Christian can be a disciple of apartheid (segregation.)"

Anglican Bishop Reeves,
Johannesburg, South Africa

• • •

"To some there is no civic fidelity above their city or state. When a conflict looms between a national viewpoint and one held in a certain section this type mind takes sides with his section against the whole nation. Then he often starts talking about how the rest of the nation is mistreating his area. This can, and does, become a phobia until it blinds one to every other consideration."

Reverend C. DeWitt Matthews
Quoted in Macon (Ga.) Telegraph